

SOCIAL ACTION

PAN-AMERICANISM Can We Win It?

by

Hubert C.
Herring

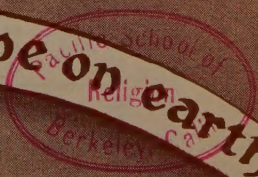


Why will be

done on earth

B. H. WHITE

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The quotation by Cordell Hull which appears on the back cover of this issue is from the Opening Address to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, at Buenos Aires, December 5, 1936.

Correction: In the May 15th issue of SOCIAL ACTION, Professor Paul S. Thayer of the University of California, on page 22, should have been Paul S. Taylor.

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HUBERT C. HERRING—AN APPRECIATION

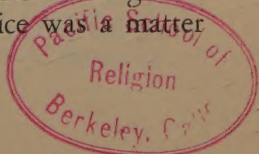
It is not an easy task to analyze and assay the contribution of a person like Hubert Herring to the fellowship and the growth of the Christian Church. Such men as he make contributions that are felt but not quite understood, accepted but appreciated only in part.

He became an official in our denominational set-up fifteen years ago, at a time when what may be called "the new Congregationalism" was just beginning to emerge; long before the time when "re-thinking Congregationalism" had become one of the major enterprises of our theologically or historically minded elite. Without fully realizing it, Hubert Herring came into his secretarial office in the Education Society as an ecclesiastical pioneer. But it was not until 1934, ten years after he left the parish ministry in Wichita, that the route of his covered wagon tracks began to outline itself upon the denominational map.

He had been maturing his venturesome idea for several months before he and Arthur Holt called together at Oberlin, in June 1934, all those who would come one day early to the General Council Meeting in order to discuss the organization of a new commission or board or agency to represent the Congregational Christian Churches explicitly in the social field.

He and Arthur Holt must have been a bit surprised at the response to their call. When all those who had come a day early were packed together into Oberlin's ancient Sturgis Hall, it looked as if denominational daring were reaching a new high. And as an outcome of that meeting, a committee got to work at once, coming together each night at the Oberlin Inn after the evening sessions were over, to draw up a plan, an outline, a charter, to present to the General Council's Business Committee, to be presented in turn by that Committee to the General Council at a regular business session.

The Council for Social Action was voted into existence at this regular business session. The members of the new Council were regularly nominated and elected. Hubert Herring was chosen to be the Executive Director. His choice was a matter



of course. Arthur Holt was elected Chairman. His election was a matter of course. Upon these two men, then, rested the central and major responsibility for starting the new agency upon its way.

At the end of four years, at the Meeting of the General Council at Beloit, Hubert Herring resigned the Executive Secretaryship and became the Secretary for International Relations and the Director of Social Action Publications. At the Mid-winter Meetings in Evanston in January, 1939, he resigned these latter positions. He is now without official connections in the Council for Social Action. He who, with Arthur Holt, brought forth the idea which led to the forming of the Council, has no longer any responsibility for its development. Let us not say, "This is too bad." Let us only say, "It is so."

Hubert Herring brought to our denominational life not only the unconventional spirit of an authentic pioneer, but also a flavor of sardonic candor which seasoned our fellowship with a realism that seemed at times to some critics to be more pungent than palatable. Yet also he himself seemed at times to qualify his realistic judgments with an almost romantic belief in the goodness of men. And it was this combination of ironical detachment with a sometimes almost uncritical enthusiasm for certain persons and causes, that gave his work the character it had. It was this rather subtle complexity which gave his personality a quality so difficult for many people to understand.

Some call Hubert Herring a genius, but that term has become a *cliche*. Some say that he is prophetic, but to say that means very little after all. Others have been delighted because as they put it, "Hubert is not afraid to stick out his neck." But such delight is a token of immaturity. It is better to say nothing and simply to let Hubert Herring go, than either to praise him superficially as a kind of compensation for previous blame, or to speak in approbation of attributes which belong to him only as they are thrown, so to speak, around his neck to decorate his departure from our official midst.

But this may and indeed must and cries out to be said: That whatever may be the future of the Council for Social Action as an agency of the Church and of the Churches, the mark that Hubert Herring put upon it is bound to last. He has given it a certain form, and that form is clearly established. It was shapen of an intense love of justice by an artist with rather a quizzical, a somewhat skeptical understanding of the motives mixed in every human act, including his own.

Such skepticism as that, founded as it is upon a correct appraisal of our common human nature, is very necessary if the work of the Church, and especially its work in the social areas, is to proceed without pharisaism and without unconscious puritanical hypocrisy.

Hubert Herring started the Council for Social Action off with this great advantage over many other Church agencies set up for the same end: namely, that while we accept the need to fight and to fight hard for what seems to be the right in every situation, even so our fighting must be qualified by tolerance and compassion. In other words, we are more concerned with social redemption than we are with mere social reform. Whether or not he was wholly aware of what he was doing, Hubert Herring in his four years as Executive Director made it practically impossible for the Council for Social Action ever to become the mouthpiece or the stooge of any secular organization seeking the Church's backing for some particular cause. Whether he knew it or not, he placed the Council for Social Action solidly and firmly upon the basis of an historic policy which for nearly two thousand years has kept the Church, in the last analysis, from being only one of the passing temporal agencies of social change.

It would be futile to say more at this time. Except this: That Hubert C. Herring has placed himself, willy nilly, in the roster of those who are rightly called *Founders* in the historical development of the Christian Faith through the Church.

—DWIGHT J. BRADLEY

PAN-AMERICANISM, Can We Win It?

• by Hubert C. Herring

Here we are—we Americans, 262 millions of us, scattered in the broad expanse of the Western Hemisphere from the icy wastes of the Arctic to the cold Antarctic, 10 million Canadians, 125 million of the United States, 17 million Mexicans, 20 million of the Central Americans and the dwellers in the Caribbean areas, and 90 million South Americans. We are all Americans. We occupy an area set off by great oceans from Asia and Europe. We have our chance to create a new civilization which will avoid Old World errors.

The relations between the Americas take on new importance in days when the civilized world—God save the mark—is girding itself for suicide. Whether the Americas can do much or little to stay the hand of the self-assassins is not clear. That the Americas should take thought to their own health and wealth is entirely clear.

The people of the United States, the strongest and the most numerous political unit in the Americas, have two chief concerns in inter-American relations. We have friendly relations with Canada, with which we are bound by ties of blood and economic advantage. This article will not deal with Canada. We have a variety of relations with Latin America to the South. It is with these relations that we will deal.

The Latin Americans

The phrase "Latin America" covers twenty separate and sovereign republics, with a total population of 122 million, scattered in the area which lies south of the United States and reaching down into the Antarctic. These republics range in size from Brazil with an area greater than that of the continental United States, excluding Alaska, down to Haiti with an area equal to that of Vermont. Each of these republics has its peculiar prides,

traditions and ambitions. Each has its distinct personality and problems. It will be well to fix the names of these republics in memory. Here they are, with the figures on their area, and the number of people who live within their borders.

	Population	Area (Square miles)
Argentina	12,561,361	1,078,278
Bolivia	3,226,296	506,792
Brazil	45,332,660	3,285,319
Chile	4,626,508	286,322
Colombia	8,698,634	440,846
Costa Rica	591,862	23,000
Cuba	4,011,088	41,164
Dominican Republic	1,544,549	19,332
Ecuador	2,756,552	275,936
Guatemala	2,466,227	45,452
Haiti	3,000,000	10,204
Honduras	962,685	44,275
Mexico	16,522,722	767,198
Nicaragua	1,133,572	49,200
Panama	467,459	33,667
Paraguay	931,799	130,647
Peru	6,500,000	482,133
Salvador, El	1,459,578	13,173
Uruguay	2,065,986	72,153
Venezuela	3,451,677	352,951
	122,311,215	

The very term "Latin America" is misleading. It suggests a unity of twenty nations, but there is little unity. The Latin Americans are of many races, they live in a variety of geographic settings, they produce almost every variety of economic goods. To understand the Latin Americans we must discover where they live, inquire as to their racial components, list the languages which they speak, ascertain the goods they produce, describe their governments and social institutions, and inquire into their relations with each other, with Europe and Asia, and with the United States.

The Geographic Home of the Latin Americas

Geography is always an important subject. Man's destiny is shaped not only by his grandparents, but by the soil he works. Climate contributes to character—we are what we are, in part at least, because of the rocks, the mountains, the rivers, the heat and the cold, the rainfall and the altitude, the fertility of the soil. We cannot altogether blame the weather for our mistakes or successes—but the character of a people finally reflects the land in which it is set.

Latin America reaches from 30° latitude North to 55° latitude South. This span comprises broad bands of the semi-tropical, tropical and temperate zones, and Cape Horn pushes down into the zone of bitter cold.

The dominant physical and psychological marker on the Latin American map is the high cordillera, which rears its stubborn spine from Mexico to the Straits of Magellan. This mountain range, punctuated as with exclamation points by scores of towering snowcapped peaks from Popocatepetl in Mexico to Aconcagua in Argentina has determined much history, set national lines and fixed the cultural patterns of many peoples. These mountains make for isolation. They set the Indian peoples of Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia apart from the swift tides of modern civilization. Locked in their mountain valleys, set off on their high plateaus, these

Indian peoples clung tenaciously to habits of life which flourished a thousand years before the first ships of Cortes and Pizarro appeared off the coasts of Peru and Mexico. The *conquistadores* made short work of the indigeneous peoples of Cuba, Haiti and Puerto Rico, for they were easily reached; Mexico and Peru escaped with superficial wounds. Furthermore, the cordillera served to determine national boundaries. Chile, whose shoestring territory stretches out 2,600 miles in a narrow strip between the Andes and the Pacific, owes its life to the mountains. In the North, the mountain range insulated Peru and Ecuador and Colombia from Brazil, though it has not prevented a running fight between those countries for the possession of areas in the upper waters of the Amazon. Furthermore, the mountains have determined the climatic pattern of whole regions. Much of Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia is set in tropical or semi-tropical latitudes but is thrust up into temperate and cold climatic zones by the rough hand of altitude. (Normally, temperature drops 1° Fahrenheit for every 300 feet increase in elevation.) It is cold in Mexico City, Quito, Bogotá and La Paz, no matter how near they may be to the Tropic of Cancer, the Equator, or the Tropic of Capricorn. Cold weather helps to explain character in La Paz or in Vancouver.

There are vast stretches of tropical lands; the great basin of the Amazon, hot, wet, immeasurably fertile, largely untenanted; the lowlands of Mexico and Central America; the coastal lands of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador; the islands of the Caribbean. These tropical lands were readily reached, easily subjugated, and filled with millions of slaves from Africa and stray wanderers from every land, east and west. Here are fused the peoples of all races—Orientals, Africans, Europeans. Life is easy, cheap, precarious. Foodstuffs grow quickly, housing is no problem, clothing needs are few.

Rivers also explain the lines upon which Latin American republics have developed. The systems of the Amazon, the

Orinoco, and the Rio de la Plata helped to cut the economic and political patterns of Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. The rivers of the North and East coasts made interior areas accessible to traders, traders established settlements, and the colonists who followed the traders drove out the Indians. That is the story of the East Coast and explains the paucity of Indians in Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. On the other hand, the West Coast has almost no sizable rivers. Hence the interior of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia were hard to reach, white exploitation was confined to coastal lands, and Indian life was relatively undisturbed. The lack of water communications on the West gave new importance to Bolivia's demand for access to the Pacific; the three-handed fight between Chile, Peru and Bolivia resulted; Bolivia's defeat inspired her to turn more eagerly towards the Atlantic, seeking access to the Upper Paraguay River through the Chaco, and precipitated her suicidal war with Paraguay.

There is but little of Latin America which lies in temperate latitudes—the southern tip of Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Chile. Here life tends to repeat the experience of the United States, politically, socially, economically.

Rainfall is another item which must be reckoned with. The East Coast has abundant rains; the West Coast from North Chile to Ecuador almost no rain at all, due to the chilling of the air by the Humboldt current.

Who are the Latin Americans?

There is no such creature as a "Latin American." It is as idle a characterization of the citizen of Argentina, Peru or Venezuela as would be the term "Anglo-Saxon" for the casually picked dweller in Milwaukee or Hartford. The United States is a conglomerate of many peoples—English, Scandinavian, German, French, Italian, Russian, Polish, and so on. The "Latin American" countries are also racial conglomerates. They are "Latin" only in the sense that their ruling classes have blood ties with

the Latin mother-lands—Spain, Portugal and France. Eighteen of the twenty republics, under this racial pattern, are linked with Spain. One of them, Brazil, looks to Portugal as the mother country. One, tiny Haiti, claims France as her spiritual home. But probe further. Of the eighteen Spanish nations, there are five in which the Indian predominates—Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. In two of these "Spanish" countries, Argentina and Uruguay, where Spanish and Italian are liberally mingled, there are also liberal admixtures of Polish, German, and other bloods. Little Costa Rica presents a white European face. Chile, also, is predominantly white. Having said that much, we must note other exceptions. The "French" republic of Haiti is almost entirely Negro. The "Portuguese" republic of Brazil, with 44 million inhabitants, has at least 36 per cent Negro or mixed Negro and white, while of the 51 per cent of white population there is a large slice of Italian, German and scattered European extraction. Cuba's is a racial tangle, predominantly Spanish, but a third of its population is Negro and with an intermingling of various European and Asiatic bloods.

The Latin Americans divide on language. Portuguese is the official language of Brazil, French that of Haiti, Spanish of the remaining eighteen republics. But that account does not complete the record. There are at least fifty Indian languages and dialects spoken in the Indian lands of Latin America.

How Do the Latin Americans Make a Living?

Latin America is rich in almost every natural resource of mine and field. Copper in Mexico, Chile and Peru; tin in Bolivia; petroleum in Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina; sugar in Cuba and the Caribbean republics, Mexico, Peru; cotton in Brazil, Peru; wheat and cattle in Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay; silver and gold in most of the Andean lands.

The one serious lack in Latin America is an accessible supply

of coal and iron. This lack has postponed industrialization. Water power, while plentiful in many areas of South America, is not well-placed for its generous utilization.

A hundred years ago Latin America exported little save precious metals. Today all that is changed. Brazil furnishes two-thirds of the world's export trade in coffee—other Latin American countries bring this figure up to 90 per cent. Bolivia sells one-third of the world's tin. Argentina leads all nations in exporting meats. Latin America is the chief source of the world's sugar. Latin America (chiefly Brazil and Peru) bids fair to take the lead from the United States in sales of cotton. Second only to West Africa, Latin America is the leading supplier of cacao. Second to Australia, it is the chief dispenser of wool. With the exception of the United States, Latin America leads in the sale of petroleum, copper, lead and silver.

The Latin Americans do not live by trading with each other. Only 6 per cent of Latin American exports went to other Latin American countries. The explanation is clear—Latin America produces raw materials, and must trade chiefly with industrialized countries. For example, 80 per cent of Uruguay's exports are meat, wool and hides; 93.6 per cent of Argentina's exports are agricultural; 60.9 per cent of Brazil's exports are in two items—coffee and cotton; 75 per cent of Chile's sales are in copper, nitrates and iodine.

Who buys Latin American products? The United States holds the lead, taking about one-third of all Latin American exports. The United States is also the chief merchandiser in Latin America. Here are the exact figures: in 1937 we took 31.1 per cent of all Latin America's exports, while we sold 34.4 per cent of all Latin America's imports. While we were selling more than one-third of all the goods Latin America bought, Germany furnished 14.1 per cent, the United Kingdom 12.6 per cent, Japan 2.7 per cent and Italy 2.6 per cent.

The economic weakness of Latin America is that she still lives and works on a colonial basis. Her mineral and agricul-

tural wealth is shipped to other countries in return for finished goods. Furthermore, a large share of her mining, farming, public utilities, railways, meat packing plants are owned by British, American, and other alien investors. The Latin American countries take their toll in wages and taxes, but the major profits go to outsiders. Only as the Latin Americans recapture their productive plant, and develop some larger degree of industrialization will this unbalanced economy be corrected. The recapture is already going on. Argentina, through thrift and enterprise, is buying back her railroads from the British. Mexico and Bolivia have expropriated oil fields—thereby precipitating acrid international crises. But, whether by means which we approve or disapprove, nationalism will have its day.

The Governments of Latin America

The twenty nations of Latin America are republics. They have constitutions built upon the United States model. They have free suffrage. They have elected presidents, congresses. They have systems of courts after our pattern. This is the theory. On paper, these are democratically organized republics. Actually, their governments range all the way from despotic dictatorships to constitutional democracies.

There are working democracies in Latin America. Let us define our terms. On a minimum basis, democracy involves elections, the honest counting of votes, the substantial honesty of the courts, the reasonable separation of the executive, the legislative and the judicial arms of the government. On that basis, there are two Latin American countries which can be held up as examples—Colombia and Costa Rica. At the other extreme, there are Latin American republics in which no slightest respect is paid to constitutional procedures. The Dominican Republic, dominated by General Trujillo, is an instance. Trujillo's rule is law; no dissent is tolerated; critics are jailed, murdered or exiled; the courts are venal; the congress serves only to approve the dictator's acts. The same situation, with

variations, prevails in Haiti, Guatemala, Salvador, Cuba. In South America, the rule of President Benavides in Peru, of President Vargas in Brazil, of President Busch in Bolivia is conducted without check from congresses or courts. Under that dictatorial system, elections are a farce, freedom of speech and of the press is forgotten, and minorities are crushed without mercy. In other countries—notably Argentina, Chile and Uruguay—where dictatorships of various degrees have recently flourished, there is now an evident tendency to return to a genuine political democracy.

The Church in Latin America

From the first days of the Conquest, the Roman Catholic Church occupied a dominant position in the life of the new world. The priest and the soldier came together. The soldier subjugated the indigenous peoples and in some areas—notably in the Caribbean and on the East Coast of South America—virtually exterminated them. The priest converted and baptized those who survived the conquest. The vigor of the Conquest was in many instances softened by the priest. There were notable churchmen who preached and practised mercy, among these the name of Bartoleme de las Casas stands supreme. The conquest accomplished, the work of church building began. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw unreckoned thousands of churches built, especially in the areas now known as Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile. These churches, in line and color reminiscent of Sevilla and Toledo, stand as eloquent testimony to the zeal and thoroughness of the first soldiers of the cross. The religious orders built convents and schools. The Jesuits established their missions throughout Latin America, pushing up into the head waters of the Paraguay River, daring jungles and mountains. By 1810, when the revolutionary movements began which resulted in freeing Latin America from Spain and Portugal, the Church had amassed great wealth, had control of education, and was the dominant social factor in Latin American life.

Latin America, during its republican days, has developed new habits of behavior with the Church. Mexico developed a strongly anti-clerical movement. By the Constitution of 1857, Mexico deprived the church of much of its landed wealth. During more recent years, the Mexican attack upon the church has been relentless. All church property is nationalized, secular education is established, the clergy must be licensed and are limited in their activities by onerous statutes. No other Latin American country has gone as far as Mexico in outlawing the church, although anti-clericalism is strong among the liberal groups in Argentina, Chile, and Brazil. Peru offers the most complete contrast to Mexico in its treatment of the church. In Peru, the Roman Church is a national institution. Federal funds are allotted to its support. The Peruvian hierarchy occupies a high place in the counsels of the nation. In Argentina, the Roman Church occupies a position roughly analogous to that of the Church of England with Englishmen—church affiliation is the mark of good breeding, but church duties rest lightly. In Chile, the influence of the church is still strong, especially with the older families who are economically powerful. In Bolivia, the Church is not highly regarded, although it is taken for granted that all Indians should be devout. The situation in Ecuador approximates that in Peru. In Colombia, a more liberal attitude prevails. Good Colombians are Catholics, but it is tacitly accepted that the church will not be intransigent. In Brazil, long years of mellow liberalism under the Emperor Dom Pedro II (who ruled from 1831 to 1889) have created a tolerant air in which the church is free to operate, but in which intelligent citizens are free to express their dissent.

Protestantism in Latin America is unimportant. Various protestant groups have built useful schools in Latin American cities, but they have not succeeded in winning any substantial body of adherents. The effort to win converts is naturally resisted by devout Catholics and has so far been met with indifference by other Latin Americans.

Education in Latin America

Education has lagged in great areas of Latin America. The political instability which has generally prevailed, the lack of economic strength, the strong hold of the Church upon education, the persistence of feudalism with its great underprivileged groups, have all conspired to obstruct the creation of public school systems. The figures on illiteracy—inaccurate at best—reveal that in Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela the percentage of illiteracy ranges from 70 to 85 per cent. Uruguay makes the best showing with but 20 per cent illiteracy (compare this with the last figure available for the United States, 4.3 per cent). Argentina is a close second, with 25 per cent. Brazil's official figure for illiteracy is 65 per cent.

There is a wide gap between the various countries. Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia have almost no schools outside the larger cities. Brazil does a little better. Argentina, Uruguay, Colombia and Chile have excellent schools and their number is increasing. The Central Americans and the Caribbean peoples, with the exception of Costa Rica, furnish pitifully little education for their children. Mexico has the most ambitious and imaginative educational program of any Latin American nation, and in the face of bitter poverty and ignorance.

Under colonial rule and down to the middle of the 19th century, Latin American schools were dominated by the Church. During the past fifty years there has been a steady move to transfer control of schools to the state. Church schools still flourish everywhere save in Mexico, and church authorities still dominate state schools in Peru and Bolivia and Ecuador, but the tendency is towards secularization of education.

Higher education in Latin America chiefly centers in professional training—law and medicine. The proud universities of Latin America's colonial days live chiefly in memories—San Marcos in Lima, Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic, the National University of Mexico. Among the more alert universities are those of Buenos Aires and La Plata in Argen-

tina, of Santiago in Chile, of Bogotá in Colombia, of Montevideo in Uruguay.

The Social Pattern

Latin America's chief social contrast with the United States is the lack of a sizable and influential middle class. Such a middle class emerges in Argentina and Uruguay and Chile, but in the predominantly Indian lands the middle class is numerically negligible.

The social structure in the Indian lands—Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia—is at the top a compact land-owning clique allied more or less closely with the military-political group. This alliance of property and military power rules those four countries. Then there is a very thin slice of the middle class—merchants and professional people. At the bottom there is the mass of the Indians, and the submerged half-castes of various mixtures. The ruling class accounts for less than five per cent of the population, the middle class about the same, the Indians and those whose standard of life is little above the Indians aggregate about 90 per cent. The ruling families collect the chief gains, the middle class slowly wins some economic power, the masses of the Indians and workers are pitifully underpaid. The Indians of those four countries are little more than serfs, bound effectively to the land of their masters, paid a few cents a day, ill-nourished, badly housed, ravaged by disease, and with almost no educational advantages.

The social pattern of the fifth Indian nation—Mexico—is quite different. There is a small group of political and military leaders. There is a small middle class, increasingly self-conscious. More than 80 per cent of the people are farmers, farm laborers, or industrial workers—these are Indians, mestizos. Up until 1910, their condition resembled that which prevails in Peru and Bolivia today. Since 1910, revolutionary measures have lifted the levels of their life, through education, sanitation, the distribution of land, increased wages. The Indians of

Mexico are still poor, but with the vital difference that they feel themselves citizens and owners of their country.

The social pattern of Brazil includes the top alliance of land-owners and politicians, a growing middle class, and the great rank and file of workers—Negroes, mixed Negro and white, a few Indians, and a scattering of many bloods. The lot of the masses is better than that of the Indian population of the West Coast, a little more pay, more independence, a greater assurance of citizenship—but it is a badly submerged proletariat for all that.

In Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile the top layer is the land-owning aristocracy. The middle class, especially in Argentina, is active and growing. The industrial and agricultural workers are increasingly organized and self-conscious and are winning concessions in wages and conditions of labor.

The Relations between the Latin Americans

We have already noted that there is little trading between the twenty nations of Latin America—only 6 per cent of their exports go to other countries within Latin America. It must also be noted that there is no great body of exchange in cultural goods between them. Each nation tends to develop along its own lines and not to cultivate its neighbors' trade or acquaintance.

The history of Latin America since the days of independence is marked by intermittent wars. The area freed by Simon Bolivar in the North broke up into Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador. Peru and Bolivia—always considered a unit in colonial days—went their separate ways. Uruguay and Paraguay came into being as buffer states between Argentina and Brazil. Wars over national boundaries have, at intervals since 1820, involved Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia and Peru. The most recent war was that waged for the possession of the Gran Chaco by Bolivia and Paraguay. A major war between

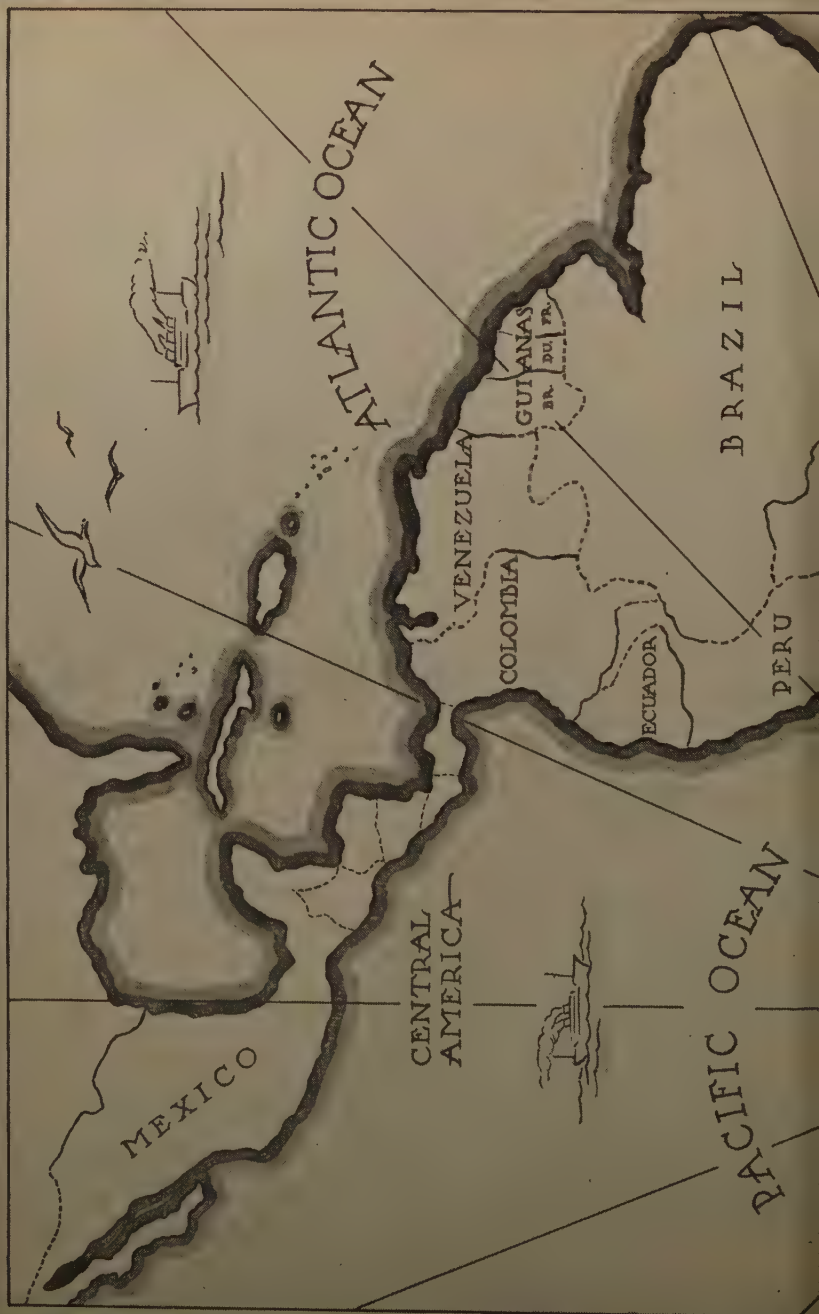
Peru and Colombia over the possession of territory in the Amazon valley was narrowly averted through mediation.

Suspicion and ill-will still poison the relations of many Latin American states. Ecuador is hard pressed by Peru. Bolivia is still resentful over her exclusion from the West Coast and over her defeat by Paraguay in the Chaco war. Argentina and Chile's relations are not friendly, although the decline of Chile's economic power makes conflict unlikely. Brazil and Argentina have their mutual suspicions. In Central America, broken up into six small countries, there is a sizable bundle of boundary grievances, while Guatemala is persuaded that Mexico has wronged her on the North. The Haitians and the Dominicans recently had a major clash, with some wholesale murders of Haitian citizens. Peace and good will do not yet reign over Latin American relations.

Latin America, Europe and Asia

Latin America, with its millions of cheap and docile labor and its unsurveyed wealth of field and mine, is a rich prize for exploitation. Ever since the Spanish were finally expelled from the Americas by the battle of Ayacucho in 1824 there have been plenty of aspirants to power. The battle of Ayacucho followed close upon the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine in December 1823, by which the United States served notice upon Europe that the day for colonization in the Americas was past. We meant it in 1823, and we still mean it. The Latin Americans, by and large, resent the Doctrine, not because they want Europeans to meddle in their affairs, but because they consider that the United States has no business to assume a protectorate over the Western Hemisphere. However, in spite of the Monroe Doctrine, the contest for power in Latin America has gone steadily on. Today we find the crossed lines of European influence in Latin America.

Great Britain has been one of the chief contenders. Her engineers and traders have built solidly and successfully in Ar-



MEXICO

CENTRAL
AMERICA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

VENEZUELA

COLOMBIA

GUYANAS

BR.
GU.
FR.

ECUADOR

PERU

BRAZIL

PACIFIC OCEAN



MEXICO
CENTRAL AMERICA
AND
SOUTH AMERICA

D.H. WHITE

gentina (with an investment topping the two billion dollar mark), in Chile, in Mexico and in many of the other countries.

Germany, especially since the world war, has made its determined drive on Latin America. While British and American trade with Latin America has decreased since 1929, German trade has increased. The United States' sales to South America in 1937 were 75 per cent of what they were in 1929, while Germany's sales in 1937 were 115 per cent of their 1929 figure. Furthermore, Germans have been settling in Latin America. There are about 250,000 Germans in Brazil. Active German colonies are in Argentina, Peru, Mexico, Uruguay and other countries. Many of these Germans, especially second and third generation Germans, are not necessarily in sympathy with current German ambitions, but the newer immigrants usually serve as effective propagandists for Mr. Hitler. There are German schools in all principal Latin American cities, propaganda centers for Nazism. The boys of the leading families who attend these schools are sedulously trained in devotion to the German formulae, many are given free trips to Germany, and are effectively indoctrinated as missionaries of Grosses Deutschland. Furthermore, Germany conducts its salesmanship through visiting lecturers, through subsidies to venal newspapers, through radio bombardment from Berlin.

Italy also plays its part in Latin America. One-third of Argentina's population is Italian. There are 1,500,000 Italians in Brazil. Smaller Italian colonies are to be found in Uruguay, Chile and Peru. Italian trade with Latin America is unimportant. In Peru, the Italian bank does more than one-half the total banking business of the republic. Italian propaganda, not so effective as the German, is carried on through the subsidized press and the radio.

Both Italy and Germany are generous with their military and naval missions. An Italian military mission directs the police force of Peru.

Japan also seeks economic advantage in Latin America. Her

sales to Latin America have increased seven-fold since 1929, but it is still negligible, accounting for no more than 1.6 per cent of the total imports of Latin America. Japan is variously suspected of seeking submarine bases and airports, but there has been no verification of these rumors.

France plays a decisive rôle in Latin American life. It is not primarily economic, for trade between France and Latin America is unimportant, but cultural. For many years, the movement called *Pan-Latinism* has exercised large influence. Paris is the spiritual and intellectual home of educated Latin Americans. French influence furnishes whatever of unity there is between the Latin Americans. Paris has shared with Madrid and Barcelona in furnishing the books which Latin America reads. French is the usual second-language for Latin Americans. This Pan-Latinism serves today as an effective bulwark against the creation of any genuine Pan-Americanism.

Pan-Americanism

The movement called Pan-Americanism was born of the fertile imagination of the South American liberator, Simon Bolívar. This restless idealist and soldier, fresh from his spectacular campaigns for the freeing of the area now comprising Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, proposed that the peoples of the Western Hemisphere, North and South, should contrive some type of federal union, with a common capital on the Isthmus of Panamá. He proposed that the New World should foreswear the evil ways of the Old, banish war and hate. Bolívar sought to give reality to his dream by calling a Congress at Panamá in 1826, but only six nations sent delegates. The United States was not represented. The Panamá congress adjourned without results.

So the Pan-American dream of Bolívar died a-borning. And it has remained dead. It was too fair a dream for practical and scheming men and nations. There has been, there is, no Pan-Americanism worthy of the high vision of the intrepid Bolívar. The explanation of the death, or the failure to be born, of such

a generous Pan-Americanism is two-fold. In the first place, the Latin Americans killed it. Instead of acting like angels of peace and sweet concord, the Latin Americans behaved like Europeans and fought. Their wars of a century and more have effectively prevented the emergence of any genuine unity. In the second place, the United States killed it. We expanded. We bought Louisiana and the Mississippi Valley; we bought the Floridas. In the forties we fought Mexico and took half of her national territory. We annexed the Hawaiian Islands. In the Spanish American war, we captured Cuba and Puerto Rico and the Philippines. We fomented rebellion in Colombia and helped detach Panamá in order to win the Canal zone. We intervened in the affairs of Mexico, Nicaragua, Haiti and Santo Domingo. We earned the title of Colossus of the North, and with it the mistrust of Latin America. It all served to discredit the more generous dream of Pan-Americanism.

The official Pan-Americanism of today was launched in the 1880's by Secretary of State James G. Blaine, who was responsible for calling the Pan-American conference of Washington in 1889. Seven regular conferences of the American states have since been held in the capitals of the Western Hemisphere. The Eighth conference convened in Lima, Peru, in December 1938.

The achievements of these several conferences are variously appraised. Protagonists of Pan-Americanism point with pride to the creation of the Pan American Union, with headquarters in Washington, as a clearing house for inter-American affairs. They cite the agreement upon several peace pacts, although admitting that not one of them has been universally ratified, and that in no case has this elaborately contrived machinery been effective in settling an inter-American dispute. They claim that through agreements on trade relations, commercial transactions, and cultural interchanges substantial gains towards understanding have been made. They believe, and with reason, that the very fact of periodic conference between the repre-

representatives of the American nations has served to keep alive faith in cooperation.

Critics of the Pan-American movement—chiefly in Latin America—denounce the whole scheme as a trade drive emanating from the United States. They see in it the subtle hand of Uncle Sam intent upon using Latin America for his own advantage. They interpret our interest in Pan-Americanism as an imperialistic thrust to the South. Few Latin Americans view Pan-Americanism save in sardonic cynicism. Most Latin Americans give it no thought. And, for that matter, it produces no great enthusiasm among the people of the United States. The reasons are perfectly clear. There is little traffic in ideas between the United States and Latin America. Until recently, there has been little travel back and forth.

The past six years have witnessed a new fervor on the part of the United States. In 1933, we sent our Secretary of State to the Seventh Pan-American conference in Montevideo. In 1936, both Mr. Hull and Mr. Roosevelt went to Buenos Aires for the special conference on the maintenance of peace. In 1938, Mr. Hull attended the Eighth Pan-American conference in Lima. During this period of six years the Roosevelt administration has taken heroic steps to persuade the Latin Americans of our honorable intentions. We helped to settle the Chaco dispute. We lent a hand in the Leticia quarrel between Colombia and Peru. We have negotiated reciprocal trade treaties designed to serve the interests of all signatories. We have written off the Platt Amendment with Cuba, and withdrawn our marines from Haiti and Nicaragua. We have signed the agreement against intervention in the internal affairs of other nations. During recent months, we have agreed to loan some millions to Cuba and Brazil upwards of \$100,000,000. We have signified our intention of extending active cooperation in the training of armies and the building of navies.

Latin America is inclined to ask as to the reason for this sudden access of affection upon our part. So we might as well

be frank. There are two reasons. *First*, trade. Germany has been gaining upon us, stealing our markets. Naturally we do not like it. *Second*, ideas. We do not relish the planting of German seeds in our American gardens. We fear lest Germany's ideas of government will contaminate the Western Hemisphere. We fear lest Germany might find another Sudetenland in Southern Brazil. These are the clear reasons which animate us.

These hopes and fears on our part serve to explain the events at the Lima conference in December 1938. The United States hoped to secure at Lima a strong agreement on American solidarity as over against alien interference. For Washington, Lima was a post-Munich conference, and Washington hoped that all the Americans would agree together in resisting the spread of the influence of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini on American soil. The plans of the United States were blocked by Argentina. Argentina, economically dependent upon Great Britain and always psychologically hostile to the United States, wanted no hegemony of the Americans under United States' tutelage. Argentina won the debate at Lima. The final adoption of the Declaration of Lima was officially hailed in the United States as a triumph for our diplomacy. Actually, it was a victory for Argentina. It says little. Under it, the American republics "proclaim their common concern and their determination to make effective their solidarity, co-ordinating their respective sovereign wills . . ." *but* "It is understood that the governments of the American Republics will act independently in their individual capacity, recognizing fully their juridical equality as sovereign states." This means, we will play the game together, but each of us reserves the right to make our own rules. Which, I submit, does not mean solidarity.

The defeat at Lima does not mean defeat of the Pan-American dream. There is still ground for belief in the possibility of winning an effective all-American understanding, and of building a true Pan-Americanism in this hemisphere.

Towards the Creation of Inter-American Solidarity

The creation of a generous and practical cooperation between the United States and the Latin American peoples cannot be won save by the united and intelligent labors of governments and peoples.

The Department of State has created a Division of Cultural Relations, to which has been assigned the task of strengthening the ties of understanding between the Americans. It is a tough assignment. The wisest of our leaders have no wish to create a counterpart to the Goebbels ministry of propaganda. The German method is systematic and effective, but we rebel against it. The buying of editorial opinion is not consonant with American genius. The systematic indoctrination through subsidized schools is not our way. The filling of the air with propaganda appeals is not for us. The State Department hopes to outline a program for frank, generous and intelligent interchange. The leaders of that department should have the support of American citizens in this attempt.

If the campaign for inter-American solidarity is to be successful, it must win the cooperation of universities and colleges, high schools, women's organizations, civic bodies. The churches can play an effective role in such a program.

Let us look at a few of the steps which are proposed.

First, we can clarify our own position towards Latin America. Our relations have been poisoned by the distrust of our traditional imperialism. Our repeated interferences in the affairs of Haiti, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Panama and Mexico have been resented. Today that is changed. We are sedulously keeping our hands off. As a result the United States has won a new trust from Latin America. This is good. But, in realism, we must remind ourselves that we cannot be indifferent to developments in the Caribbean area. The Panama Canal is our hostage to fortune. We will protect it at any cost—including the cost of intervention in the affairs of Guate-

mala or Panama or Haiti. We will respect the sovereignty of those small countries only up to the point where they permit any potential enemies of the United States to get a foothold within their territories. Perhaps we might as well say so. If we could get the cooperation of Brazil and Argentina and Chile in such warning, it might help to remove the sting. This is one of the knottiest problems to be solved in our inter-American area.

Second, we must search out new ways of cooperating with Latin America for our mutual economic advantage. We cannot ask Latin America to trade with us for the sake of principle. We must make the trade worth-while. Herein lies the virtue of Mr. Cordell Hull's trade treaties. By a reciprocal dropping of barriers, we can clear the way for more trade, more profit for all. The success of the trade treaties already negotiated gives hope for further arrangements.

We stand ready as a nation to extend other types of economic cooperation. The recent governmental loans to Cuba and Brazil are cases in point. If such loans will serve to stabilize currencies, establish sound national banking systems, they will speed the mutually profitable movement of trade. Plans are also being studied for the safe investment of American funds in solid improvements such as railroads. Such investments, if wisely considered, might well make for better inter-American relations.

The most difficult trade situation which we face is with Argentina, whose agricultural products compete with ours. About 95 per cent of Argentina's exports are agricultural, three-quarters of these are in six items—corn, linseed, wheat, chilled beef, wool and hides. The State Department is working to discover the basis upon which a mutually profitable agreement might be drawn. There are two serious hurdles to be leaped. First, Argentina imposes a 20 per cent penalty in exchange rates against countries which sell more than they buy in Argentina. We fall in that class, and our merchants resent

the discrimination. Second, the United States maintains a quarantine against Argentine meats, ostensibly because of the existence of hoof-and-mouth disease in some areas of Argentina. A convention was signed in 1935 under which we will quarantine only such sections of Argentina as harbor the disease, but allow entrance into the United States of meats from disease-free areas. The ratification of this convention has been blocked in our Senate by the cattle lobby. This is a sore point in Argentine-United States relations.

Officials of the State and Commerce Departments are studying the matter of turning some trade now given Europe, Africa and Asia to South and Central America. We must buy a number of items in the world market—rubber, silk, tin, antimony, mercury, wool, hides, sugar, manganese, chromium, nickel, coffee, camphor, tungsten, opium, quinine are some of them. We already buy most of our sugar from Cuba, our coffee from Brazil and Colombia, some of the other items from various Latin American republics. If we decide to center our attention on Latin American trade, we may decide to give the preference to those countries, to encourage the production of the goods which we need.

Third, we propose to help Latin Americans improve their armies and navies. We are doubling our military and naval missions to Latin America. We are offering to lend our shipyards for the building of warships for Latin America. We will, it seems clear, go further in this line. The wisdom of this course may be questioned on several grounds. The arming of the Latin American states might incite fresh wars within the Hemisphere. The strengthening of the dictators, through such armament, might serve to crush needed revolts. Furthermore, if we aid one country and withhold aid from another, it might excite jealousy and ill-will. It is hard to deal wisely in swords.

Fourth, we are cooperating in the improvement of communications. We are subsidizing shipping between the United States and Latin America. We are promoting the Pan-Ameri-

can Highway which will one day connect the United States with South America. Much of this highway in Mexico and Central America is already completed. Our engineers and credits have aided. Perhaps this project will be useful for furnishing new ties between the Americans.

Fifth, we can educate ourselves about Latin America. There should be more attention paid to Latin American history in our colleges and high schools. Clubs, forums, churches should spend more time in studying the problems of inter-American relations. At the present time, there is little interest in the great area which lies to the South. There can be no substantial gains in solidarity until we learn about these other Americans.

Sixth, we can do much to inform the Latin Americans about the United States. We can look to the ways of our press services, and examine the type of news which is carried over the wires. We can encourage the broadcasting companies in strengthening their short-wave programs. We can encourage our publishers in making available Spanish and Portuguese translations of books which interpret our country. We can encourage the travel of thoughtful Americans to South America.

Seventh, we can encourage the exchange of students and professors. A convention was signed at Buenos Aires in 1935 by which the American republics will finance such exchange. This has been ratified by eight countries, including the United States. It is hoped that within a year the plan will be in operation. This program should be supplemented by private citizens and organizations. The generous-minded might well provide funds with which colleges could send students for a year's study in Buenos Aires or Santiago. Medical associations, engineering societies, civic groups might provide fellowships. And all groups, great and small, can help to give a genuine welcome to students from the other Americas.

These are some of the things which can be done to speed on the creation of better relations between the Americas. They are things in which all individuals and groups can cooperate.

Now is the time to Begin

If the New World is to be really New, if it is to escape the calamities which overtake the Old World, it behooves men of good will to take thought to the problems and the promises of the other Americans.

The individual can educate himself. There are books to be read. Start where you will, with Mexico, Peru, Argentina—there is material available which will make you a more intelligent American. Follow the news in the press, and ask for more news. Get acquainted with the Latin Americans who are living among us.

Organized groups can help the process of understanding by making way for the study and the discussion of inter-American relations.

The peace of the world, if there is to be any peace, will come only as men and women concern themselves with the relations which we bear to other peoples. The other Americans offer plenty of material with which to make a start.

STUDY OUTLINE

Purchase or borrow a good map of the Western Hemisphere.

1. Note the location and size of the twenty Latin American Republics. How has the geography and climate affected their history?
2. What are the racial and cultural roots of the citizens of the various countries?
3. How do the Latin Americans make a living?
 - a. Foreign investors have been active in Latin America. How has this affected the standard of living?
 - b. What recent policies of the government of the United States may improve the situation?

4. When the phrase "Latin American Republic" is used what variety of meaning may be implied?
5. What has been the history of the Church in Latin America?
6. What is the social pattern of the more important countries?
 - a. How adequate are the educational opportunities?
 - b. What degree of economic freedom exists?
7. Trace the influence of the United States and Europe upon the recent development of Latin America. Do you believe that increased understanding and friendship from North America can offset the well organized Fascist drive in South America?
8. What is the history and meaning of the Monroe Doctrine?
9. What can we do to create a genuine Pan Americanism? There are three fields of endeavor which should engage the attention of all men and women who wish well for their neighbors to the South:
 - a. Cultural. Visit these countries—if that is impossible read and study. Visit the Pan American building in Washington. Write to the State Department for special information about the progress that is being made in plans for exchange students, etc.
 - b. Economic. Do you favor Mr. Hull's policy of gradual tariff reduction? If so, write to your Senators and Congressmen and tell them so. This is very important because there is a strong drive in Washington to weaken or rescind the Trade Agreements Act.
 - c. Political. Follow legislation which has to do with Latin American affairs.

If you wish to know more about the accomplishments of the recent Lima Conference, the Department of State will, again, be a good source of information. Also read *The Lima Conference* by Walter Van Kirk. This may be secured from the National Peace Conference, 8 West 40th Street New York, N. Y. Price, 10c.

A Selected Reading List

PAMPHLETS

- The Lima Conference*, by Walter Van Kirk. National Peace Conference, 1938, 36 pp. 10c.
- Results of the Lima Conference*, by Charles A. Thomson. Foreign Policy Association, March 15, 1939, 8 pp. 25c.
- The Good Neighbor*, by Delia Goetz and Varian Fry. Foreign Policy Association, 1939, 96 pp. 25c.
- Latin America*, by Stephen Duggan. World Peace Foundation, 1936, 65 pp. 35c.
- Fascism and Communism in Latin America*, by S. Naft. Foreign Policy Association, Dec. 15, 1938, 25 pp.
- Foreign Exchange Control in Latin America*, by Herbert M. Bratter. Foreign Policy Report, Feb. 15, 1939, 25c.
- Trade Rivalries in Latin America*, by H. J. Trueblood. Foreign Policy Association, Sept. 15, 1937.
- Mexican Expropriation*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. December 1938, 77 pp. 5c.

BOOKS

- Latin America*, by F. A. Kirkpatrick. Macmillan, 1939, 448 pp. \$3.75
A valuable summary of South American history since the discovery. The pages are crowded with facts which give a background to the Pan-American problems of today.
- Republics of South America*, Oxford University Press, 1938, 374 pp. \$8.50
Report by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Touches on nearly all phases of modern South American life. Such questions as population, colonization, labor conditions, religion, education, international relations and many others are discussed.
- Historical Evolution of Hispanic America*, by J. Fred Rippy. Crofts, 1939, 850 pp. \$3.75
A scholarly survey of the political, economic and social development of Latin America.
- Latin America; Its Place in World Life*, by Samuel Guy Inman. Willett, 1937, 462 pp. \$3.75
A study of vital forces operating in contemporary Latin America. Includes such topics as: students, communism, fascism and the Good Neighbor policy.
- A History of Mexico*, by H. B. Parkes. Houghton, 1938, 432 pp. \$3.75
"A remarkable, well balanced and sound interpretation of Mexican history; one that is sensitive to the drama and color of events and to human values."

What Is YOUR Opinion?

• by Elizabeth G. Whiting

There is an acceleration in the affairs of men today which is redrafting maps and bringing continents and peoples together—whether to fight each other or to work together, no one yet can say.

Diesel engines, airplanes, the telephone, radio and television—these are only some of the marvels of modern science which make us all citizens of one neighborhood. And we don't know how to get along with our neighbors.

When Brazil destroys its excess coffee and the price goes up, I am chagrined because I am very fond of coffee. When Japan uses the money she makes from the sale of silk to me to buy more war materials, I decide that a cotton or rayon evening dress is more attractive after all.

These are no longer foreign affairs; they are neighborhood business. It is breath-taking to have to practice neighborliness on such a scale. We are all a little breathless.

Twenty-five years ago Edna St. Vincent Millay, in "Renaissance," wrote that:

"A man was starving in Capri;
He moved his eyes and looked at me;
I felt his gaze, I heard his moan,
And knew his hunger as my own."

One hundred, fifty, perhaps even twenty-five years ago, only the sensitive man or woman knew about the suffering or joys of his contemporaries on the other side of the planet. But today we all know, unless we throw our radios on the dump heap.

It is no wonder that we are afraid and attempt, ostrich-like, to bury our heads in the sand. We have come to believe in magic, but we don't quite like it; and often, when it is dark, we wish we could go back to the day of the stagecoach and sailing vessel.

The timid man has become the super patriot. Draped in the Stars and Stripes, he shouts loudly, if incoherently, for pure Americanism; and the need for brotherhood drives us tragically to a kind of tribal jingoism.

It is against this background of increased tension and fear that we must examine the recent developments in state legislatures and the federal congress.

Anti-alien legislation

There are two special reasons for the flood of anti-alien and anti-immigration bills which have been introduced in this session of Congress: namely, the relief problem in the United States and the refugee situation abroad. Included in these bills is one which would deport *all* aliens and prohibit *all* immigration; one which would register and fingerprint all aliens; and another which would permit deportation for mere opinion.

A total of more than twenty such bills in one session of Congress indicates a trend to reverse what has been a traditional American position. We are all immigrants or the children of immigrants. Our forefathers came to the United States to form a government of free men. Many of them came to escape political persecution in other lands.

Never has this need of asylum been more acute than it is today. In the testimony before the Senate Immigration Committee representatives of the American Friends Service Committee told of men and women lined up in rows in Austrian communities to be chosen for commitment to the concentration camp at Dachau as automatically as this: "Eins, zwei, drei, vier, fünf, Dachau!"

Refugee Children

One bill which attacks this problem in a more truly Christian and traditionally American method is the Wagner-Rogers bill which would permit twenty thousand German children, aged fourteen years or younger, over and above the authorized immigration quota, to enter the United States during the years 1939 and 1940. The bill provides that this entrance shall only

be allowed to those children for whom satisfactory assurance of support and care by responsible citizens or private agencies has been obtained. The hearings on this bill have again brought tales of unbelievable tragedy and need; of children torn and bleeding from stones thrown at them by other children; of devoted parents whose situation is so hopeless that they are willing to give up their children forever.

Civil Liberties

The La Follette Committee cannot continue its investigation until it has received an additional appropriation. For documentary evidence of the need for an extension of this committee's courageous work read John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath." Senator Schwollenbach has introduced a bill (S. Res. 126) which would provide an additional \$100,000 for the further work of this committee. In the meantime, the Dies Committee, with a large appropriation, seems to be engaged in a kind of Gilbert and Sullivan performance whose value is dubious at best.

Labor Relations

As a result of the findings of the La Follette Committee, Senators Thomas and La Follette have introduced a bill designed to eliminate certain "oppressive labor practices." The bill would prohibit employers from utilizing labor spies, strikebreakers and strikebreaking agencies, and would restrict the use of private guards and company police to company property.

The National Labor Relations Board has met with severe criticism from the officers of the American Federation of Labor, although it is doubtful whether the rank and file would agree with their leadership.

The work of the N.L.R.B. has been hampered because of the conflict between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. When to this inner struggle is added the active opposition of some employers' groups and some reactionary congressmen, it is no wonder that the public is bewildered and generally misinformed. Although several amendments to the Act have been suggested

and bitterly discussed, the Act will probably remain unchanged in this session of Congress.

Several state legislatures enacted "Baby Wagner Acts" in 1937. Unfortunately, the gains of the last two years have been largely wiped out in the 1938-1939 state legislatures by the passage of laws or amendments to existing laws which will restrict the right of labor to organize freely.

Married Women

Twenty state legislatures have been considering proposals to bar married women from employment in the public service. In some local communities married women have been forced to resign by executive order, without any legislative authority. It is interesting to note that the exclusion of women from public office and various professions was one of the devices employed in the early days of the Hitler regime.

The arguments for and against such a proposal can easily become emotional. The basic objection to it is that such discrimination is a violation of the democratic principle of freedom of opportunity.

International Relations

The *War Referendum Amendment* proposal sponsored in the Senate by twelve Senators differs from the original Ludlow Amendment by excepting the application of the referendum in case of attack or threatened attack upon the whole Western Hemisphere. Hearings on this amendment are now being held (May 31).

The Senate Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs Committees conducted lengthy hearings on the *Neutrality Law*. During this time the "cash-and-carry" provision expired (May 1). The extraordinary length to which committee hearings have been allowed to go during this session has caused some rather astute individuals to comment that "Congress has found a new way to filibuster."

During the long weeks of hearings neither the President nor Secretary Hull indicated the definite amendments which

the Administration would prefer. It has been generally recognized, however, that the executive branch of the government would favor more freedom of action than the present law allows. It should be remembered that the Constitution of the United States has always provided for a large measure of executive discretion in the conduct of foreign affairs. In the last week of May Secretary Hull finally outlined the amendments which the State Department advocates.

In the meantime public opposition to the shipment of war materials to Japan has increased. Senator Pittman, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee has introduced a bill (S. J. Res. 123) which would place restrictions on trade with and credit to any nation which has violated its obligations under the Nine-Power Pact.

In the House, the Coffee Bill (H.R. 5432) provides for direct prohibition of exports to Japan.

The testimony of Dr. Walter Judd, a former medical missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was particularly effective in arousing congressional sentiment against our continued assistance to Japan.

Individuals who agree that the United States is now a party to Japanese aggression should write or wire their congressmen immediately asking support of these two proposals.

If the principle of economic non-cooperation with a nation which is waging war in violation of its treaty obligations with the United States could be established in a specific instance, namely the Sino-Japanese hostilities, it might then be possible to incorporate this principle in a general revision of the present Neutrality Act. Passage of the Thomas amendment would achieve this end.

There is nothing of minor importance in this brief review. Never was there greater need for clear thinking and positive action based on considered judgment. Your lawmakers should have the benefit of your opinion on some of these critical issues. It is the task of all men of good will to prove that democracy can be "the political home of Christianity."

PEACE AT THE WORLD'S FAIR

The National Peace Conference has opened New York World's Fair headquarters in the World Trade Center on the Court of Peace near the Federal Building where a bookstore and exhibit has been set up. The Council for Social Action as one of the participating organizations is sharing in this exhibit.

Collected here are pamphlets dealing with problems in both foreign and domestic policy, magazines and newsletters published by the forty organizations which make up the National Peace Conference, study packets and program suggestions, guides on organizations and peace action techniques, posters and samples of newsletters and reports of projects carried out by community peace councils.

Our readers are invited to include the World Trade Center among the places they visit at the Fair. It is easy to find, located as it is on the Court of Peace between Finland and Switzerland. There in a spacious hall equipped with comfortable chairs, specially trained consultants will show you what aids are available to make your peace work more effective and more valuable to your community. The bookstore will be open daily from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M.

The opening ceremonies of the New York World's Fair stressed the paramount importance of peace. Constant emphasis on peace is the theme of the World of Tomorrow. The Peace exhibit with its personnel and material is ready to help you. Put this exhibit on your *must* list.

The Maintenance of Peace

People everywhere should be made to know of the peace mechanisms. Even more, there should be brought home to them the knowledge that trade, commerce, finance, debts, communications, have a bearing on peace. The workman at his bench, the farmer on his land, the shopkeeper by his shelves, the clerk at his books, the laborer in factory, plantation, mine, or construction camp, must realize that his work is the work of peace; that to interrupt it for ends of national or personal rapacity is to drive him toward quick death by bayonets, or to slower, but not less grievous suffering, through economic distress.

In all our countries we have scholars who can demonstrate these facts; let them not be silent. Our churches have direct contact with all groups; may they remember that the peacemakers are the children of God. We have artists and poets who can distill their needed knowledge into trenchant phrase and line; they have work to do. Our great journals on both continents cover the world. Our women are awake; our youth sentient; our clubs and organizations make opinion everywhere. There is a strength here available greater than that of armies. We have but to ask its aid; it will be swift to answer, not only here, but in continents beyond the seas.

—CORDELL HULL